1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

It is the postmarital residence pattern that appears to put the greatest strain on a newlywed woman. While a groom continues to live on his natal reduccián, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband, but also to such of his relatives as happen to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in 'Woman's Song' Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 9.[10]

Further proof that the Araucanians themselves recognize how difficult a strain unilocal, patrilocal residence imposes on a bride may be found in the customs of postmarital oratory and visiting. Soon after a daughter has been "abducted," as was noted above, her parents come to stay at her new home for several days during which they receive the bride price, present gifts, and extend invitations for return visits. While the wedding festivities are still in progress, the bride's father addresses a long speech to his son-in-law, urging him to have no fear, asking him to treat his wife fairly and considerately, and offering to take back his daughter if ever the groom should tire of her. The groom's father also gives advice to the newlyweds. Somewhat later the couple pays a return visit to the bride's natal home. There is much feasting and talking and many questions are asked to determine how the young wife is getting along. Quite commonly, plans for future visits are made at this time.

Despite the strains and stresses brought about by the marriage customs divorces, as distinct from mere separations, rarely occur. A woman who is unhappily married may, indeed, insist on returning to her natal home and having the bride price restored to the groom. Unless such action is taken very soon after a marriage, however, it is apt to lead to so much unpleasantness that it is avoided. In fact, distressed brides sometimes prefer suicide to any other arrangement.[11] The rarity of divorce is also correlated with the practice of polygyny, for a dissatisfied husband may take another mate without the need of divorcing his previous spouse. If he finds that the two women cannot get

[10] Titiev, 1949, p. 16.
[11] Cf. Hunter, 1939, p. 240.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

along in one household, he may build a separate *ruka* for the discarded wife. The latter could insist on returning to her parents, but if she is the mother of grown children who can attend to her wants, she may prefer living in her own establishment to going back to her natal home.

Married women are expected to be faithful to their mates, but no serious restrictions are placed on the postmarital conduct of men. Although an adulterous wife is supposedly subject to any punishment her husband cares to inflict on her,[18] it is doubtful if men often carry out severe reprisals. In the great majority of cases married couples learn to make whatever adjustments are necessary and to live out their lives while making the best of any situation that confronts them.

DEATH AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS[19]

Ignorance of sanitation and medical care, combined with inadequate housing and improper diets, prevent many Araucanians from living to a ripe old age. As soon as a person dies word is sent out to his neighbors and to friends and relatives living on other reservations. Only minor differences occur in the burial patterns for adults of either sex; even funerals of suicides do not depart from customary lines. More elaborate ceremonies and richer grave offerings may accompany the rites of prominent and wealthy persons, but the general procedure is much the same for all.

When a person dies his housemates wash the body, arrange the hair, and dress the deceased in his best clothes. The corpse is usually kept indoors for three or four days, during which the section of the *ruka* in which it lies is tabu to small children. If the person had a favorite hockey stick, musical instrument, or household utensil, it is kept beside the body, but the rest of his possessions may be freely handled and soon pass into normal use among his heirs. There is little fear of contact with a corpse. Even the bedding on which a dying person lay is washed and again utilized, except when wealthy people prefer to give it

[18] Latcham, 1909, p. 354.

[19] Cf. the accounts in Guevara, 1908, pp. 263–84; 1929, II: 33–56; and House, 1939, pp. 217–21.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

DIVORCE, SEPARATION, DESERTION, INFIDELITY

586 Formal divorce, the result of an action by somebody empowered to grant it, was not an Araucanian custom; separations and desertions were. Today the Chilean law regarding divorce is invoked only when difficulty arises regarding the care of the children, something which has happened in several instances where Araucanian men had attended schools with Chileans. In accordance with Chilean law, in these cases, sons of the couple were assigned to the care of the mother; the daughters, to the father.

Desertions by either party occur today, as they did in former times. Instances were recounted where a wife deserted because of ill treatment by her husband, or because of her affection for another man, or because she preferred being with her brothers and sisters. A man deserted because he preferred living with another woman.

Separations by agreement between husband and wife were rare. Formerly in a case of a separation, and today in a nonlegal one, the children were taken and supported by the parent who wanted them most. In a legal separation today (that is, one decided upon before a judge appointed by the Chilean Government, in most cases an Araucanian judge), the Chilean custom of assigning the girls to the father and the boys to the mother is followed, as in the case of divorce.

586 837 Today, as formerly, if infidelity on the part of the woman is suspected or known to exist, the man either sends her back to her home, or whips her. In Panguipulli area it was said that the husband was known to have cut off one of his wife's braids, something informants in other areas had not heard of. No informant had heard that her cheeks were ever slashed or the tip of her nose cut off to disfigure her face. "But an unfaithful wife was a very, very rare thing. If it happened, the man sent the woman out of his ruka and told people about it. The woman usually went to her parents' home. Her family was then obliged to return all the animals and other things, or an equal value of them, that had been paid as bride price. I do not know what happened to a man who was unfaithful, except that people scolded about it."

IN-LAW TABOOS, JOKING RELATIONSHIPS

606 184 In Cotaripe area, mother-in-law–son-in-law and father-in-law–daughter-in-law taboos existed. A 100-year-old man had been told by old people while he was young that these customs had always existed. Alepún and Panguipulli informants, including several older than 80,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

was over, the man's family presented the girl's family with silver things, and with homewoven clothing usually consisting of chamall used for chiripa by the men, and chamall and ekull for the women. Then the girl's family reciprocated with gifts. As soon as the girl's mother accepted the gifts offered her by the man's family the man was allowed to take the girl away. Next, advice was given by the father of the girl to the man; by the father of the man, to the girl; and by aunts and uncles on both sides to both bride and groom. The chief advice was that they live peacefully together and not be quarrelsome. The man then took his bride to his parental home, where another feast was held. "But all this changed when they began to chase us from our land," said Kolupan. "When I was married things were no longer done in the old way. I took my wife by myself and took no one with me when I got her. The time for paying for wives was past, and it never came back." The traditional custom of having the woman live with her husband in his paternal home is followed today. 585

Elopement has never been considered a proper form of marriage, but after a lapse of time the couple was considered married.

DESERTION, SEPARATION, INFIDELITY

Desertions were rare in the early days. The woman on her part would have had no place to go, if she had left her husband's home. If she did leave her husband it was because he ill-treated her. "My husband hit me a great deal, even when he was not drunk. Living with him was difficult. There was hardly a day in which I did not weep. I finally left him. Our two sons stayed with him, but after two years they came to me. Today's woman can support herself and will not stay with a husband whose conduct is unbearable. I do housework for an Argentine family." 586

The children of a separated couple were usually reared by the paternal grandparents or paternal aunts. If a wife, especially of a cacique, was unfaithful, her paramour was usually killed. [609]

IN-LAW RELATIONSHIPS AND TABOOS, JOKING RELATIONSHIPS

When the immediate family of a woman and her close relatives paid her their first visit after her marriage (she left her family for her husband's home on the day of her marriage) they were received in a conventional manner. The woman dressed in her best clothing and wore her silver ornaments. She, her husband, and her husband's relatives received the guests by reciting a formal welcome in a high-pitched voice while sitting on their haunches. The informant chanted it in Araucanian: "Here comes my mother! Here comes my mother!" 577 585 [514]

H:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

on the reservations I studied. Certainly nowadays a man would not kill his wife unless he was frenzied and caught her in the act with another man.

An unfaithful wife may be beaten by her husband without his receiving censure from the community or from his wife's kin, as long as they feel that his suspicion against her is well founded. Even on such treatment is usually dealt out only when the husband is drunk and morose. Drunken women also tend to tongue-lash unfaithful husbands.

In cases of repeated infidelity a man will send his wife away—drive her from the house if necessary. There are usually only two courses for her to take. One is to seek employment in a Chilean city. Few women are prepared to do this, it being more often resorted to by young, more acculturated girls, and for other reasons than marital disputes. The other, traditional, course is to return to her natal group, where she may have some claim to land through the largess of a kinsman or through having been one of the original residents, or where she might live with one of her close relatives.

If a husband is in the habit of getting drunk and mishandling his wife and children, it is customary for a neighbor—a member of his lineage—to intercede and advise the man against such action. This is a traditional manner of settling disputes where chieftainship is weak. It is said that chiefs formerly had authority to prevent such violence on the part of a man if they felt it was disruptive to community life. It is also said that wife beating in a communal or multifamily household occurred only when the husband was outraged and had the expressed sympathy of the rest of the male members; otherwise he would be shamed by such action.

In mentioning the discordant aspects of marriage it is not meant to imply that the husband-wife relationship is not generally enduring and satisfying. As a rule, husband-wife relationships tend to be harmonious, stable, and evidence a good deal of mutual affection and pride of family. The husband enjoys a traditionally dominant role. While his wife is customarily housebound by the nature of her duties she also enjoys freedom in going to the town market and visiting other households on her husband's reservation. She makes trips to her natal reservation and visits married sisters wherever they might be living.

A woman's loneliest years are those just after marriage, when she has been separated from her closest kin and has to make an adjust-

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

other members and, on behalf of the other members, with respect to the community at large. 596

In extended-family arrangements brothers need to be cooperative among themselves and submissive to their father's authority. In the absence of these conditions, the situation is conflict-ridden and the organization highly unstable. Sons often chafe under their father's control but must endure it if they have no land of their own, unless they are willing (and equipped) to give up reservation life.

Unless brothers' wives are close relatives, and sometimes when they are, they are often incompatible. An especially judicious mother-in-law may be able to hold this incompatibility to a minimum, but this requires continual effort on her part and is frequently no more than a delaying action. Young women are generally opposed to being either co-wives of a polygynist or sisters-in-law in the same household. They tend to enter such marriages with reservations and continually exert pressure on their husband to establish his own household. Where this is clearly impossible because of an extreme shortage of land or a recalcitrant *paterfamilias*, a young husband's position often becomes intolerable. Under these conditions the husband might desert his wife, who will then return to her own parent's house. 596 607 [595] [584]

When in-married women are real or classificatory sisters, the strain is not as great. Real sisters have long been conditioned to work together, and lineage sisters have at least a long-established relationship and mutual interests to fall back on. According to informants, a significant characteristic which symbolizes the greater harmony between in-married women who are closely related is their willingness to care for and even suckle each other's children. The fact that a woman calls her own child by a very special term, *moyolpuilen* (*moyo*, breast; *puilen*, child) seems to heighten the sense of unity among these in-married women. The other side of this is that women in extended-family households (and even more so among co-wives in a polygynous household) frequently complain that they often have to care for the other women's children if they are occupied elsewhere. [601] [595]

When the women are real or classificatory sisters and are also members of their mother-in-law's lineage, as would be the case if marriage had been contracted matrilaterally, there is less friction on the intergenerational level. This is especially noticeable in the mother-daughter-in-law relationship. Since they are kinswomen, even though not necessarily in a close degree of relationship, there is already a set of 596 606

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

ages. In general, poor Mapuche need assistance of relatives if they hope to have an elaborate ceremony. However, wealthier Mapuche are able to carry most or all of the burden of marriage wealth without assistance, thereby somewhat circumventing traditional lineage participation in marriage arrangements.

SECONDARY UNIONS

Secondary marriage may involve the taking of an additional wife in a polygynous household, or another spouse after the death of the first. There are no prohibitions placed on remarriage per se by either men or women after the demise of one spouse or, in the case of women, when desertion or divorce has terminated the first union.

A man has greater freedom in choosing a second wife, and may look anywhere for her. Since women today show some reluctance to become co-wives in a polygynous household, a polygynist may have to marry a somewhat undesirable woman if he wants to increase his number of wives, but this is about the only difficulty with which he will be faced. Yet there is a tendency to take a second wife from the same group as the first (if she has died). Institutionally, this is the sororate, for the man marries a real or classificatory sister, a lineage sister, of his first wife.

There are more restrictions placed on the secondary marriage of a widow. Widows nearly always "marry" lineage brothers of their husband, under the terms of widow inheritance and lineage-based rights, if they want to remarry and remain on their husband's land. If a woman returns to her natal reservation, she is free to marry anyone who will have her, and her opportunities will be enhanced if she has claim to some land there. In most cases her new husband will reside uxorilocally. If she remained on her husband's reservation, she could not usually obtain permission to marry a man who was not an agnate of her dead husband. While a widow is theoretically free to marry anyone, provided she relinquishes claim to her husband's land if she marries outside his lineage, her opportunities for contracting a favorable second marriage are slim unless she has some land of her own. Her difficulties increase if she has a number of children and is no longer young.

The sororate and widow inheritance do not occur with as much frequency as in the past. The reasons for this decline are essentially economic, especially involving farmland and its diminishing pro-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

587 595 Filial inheritance of views[1] is reported in the historic literature as well as in oral histories, but is now said to be unthinkable by most Mapuche if it implies sexual intercourse between the heir and his father's wives. Many informants claimed to recall such arrangements having occurred a generation or more ago, but emphasized that marriage was not involved, there being no ceremony. If sexual intercourse occurred, it was between a man and one of the younger wives of his father, not his own mother or women on her age level. Filial inheritance has disappeared with the passage of large compound households. If a son lives with his widowed mother, a situation which is very common today, this is not considered filial inheritance of father's widow. Indeed, it seems only to have occurred in the past when there were multiple wives who had no other means of support. Economic responsibility was the feature which characterized the relationship.

SEPARATION AND DIVORCE

586 Divorce implies some disposition of marriage wealth at the termination of the marriage. If the woman leaves her husband's reservation, she relinquishes rights to the land. This is the functional equivalent of returning the bride-price. Her family once more assumes responsibility for her support by making a place for her on her natal reservation, either on land which she might claim as her own or in the household of one of her close relatives.

The children of the divorced couple retain membership in their father's patrilineage, although there is a tendency for the younger children to return with their mother to her reservation, in which case they assume a peripheral position in relation to their mother's brother's residential kingroup. The extent to which they become integrated into this residential unit depends largely on the position of their mother in her natal group. It is customary for these children to acquire certain rights over land after their mother dies (if she is a *radicada*) or when the boys are ready to marry. Therefore, as the boys marry, an additional segment of their patrilineage becomes established. However, since there is a good deal of competition for land on today's reservations, these children might have great difficulty in exercising any claims. There is a tendency for them to marry uxorilocally or, if possible, to return to their father's reservation. Perhaps [167] the most common tendency is for them to emigrate, leaving the res-

[1] [possibly "wives" is meant. - Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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ervation system entirely. This seems a phenomenon related to scarce land.

Separation is most often the result of mistreatment or abandonment. In the first case, the woman leaves her husband's reservation, perhaps returning to her own. In the second instance, she generally remains on her husband's land, at least until she is certain that he has no intention of returning. Separation, if it appears permanent, is equivalent to divorce.

During her husband's absence a woman might become involved in a sexual alliance with another man. This is generally condoned by the community if it seems evident that the woman has been deserted. It becomes complicated if the man is not a lineage brother of her husband and if she intends marrying or living permanently with him. Under these circumstances she could not remain on the reservation, unless perhaps her intended spouse were a member of another resident patrilineage.

Her children retain rights as members of their father's patrilineage, but they may have to move off their father's reservation with their mother and her lover, their absence thus weakening their claims to land. The children born to the second alliance of course have no status in their half-siblings' lineage. They are members of their own father's patrilineage and residential kingroup. If their father resides uxorilocally on their mother's reservation, however, they become incorporated into their mother's brother's residential kingroup while maintaining membership in their father's lineage. This lineage membership, however, often carries few actual rights if their father's relations with his natal group are weak — they have no real claim to land there, for example, although they have rights in theory. While their theoretical rights are acknowledged, all sorts of reasons can be mustered for their not gaining access to farmland on their father's reservation. As previously mentioned, these socially dislocated young men are in an unenviable position. They frequently leave the reservations to become laborers on Chilean farms or in towns or attempt to become career soldiers or policemen.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

583 however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel
[584] of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

423 An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land
594 made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the chief who holds the *título de merced*, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of *radicación*. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the
[422] produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise,
[431] any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she
[587] is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her
[613] husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice
[589] in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

583 In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after mar-
582 riage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past.
768 All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession
[198] of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the marriage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

583 Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in pay-
582 ments between wife givers and wife receivers, no accumulation of
[613] wealth. The very diffuseness of the matrilateral marriage system, whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

423 There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted
582 through the division of some reservations into severalty holdings, as
[167] already discussed. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG

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137 wild geraniums, and other flowers unknown to me. Amongst them were two magnificent creepers, one resembling a vine, with rich violet trumpet-shaped flowers, and another displaying gorgeous circular orange blossoms, with black lines radiating, like the spokes of a wheel, from the centre. I looked in vain for seeds, but there were none mature, so contented myself with plucking a flower, which was subsequently lost with other specimens.

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567 A disagreeable incident here gave me an opportunity of observing the disposition of the Araucanians to enslave and illtreat any unhappy 'Cristiano' that they can either kidnap or purchase. One of the Chilians, after more than once removing from one Tehuelche toldo to another, listened to the delusive promises of an Araucanian, and deserted his old protectors rather than masters. He soon found that he had exchanged an easy berth for real slavery. One day he besought me to interfere to protect him from the cruelty of his master, who was urging him with his whip to continue his labour of wood-felling. He complained that he was worked all day, and scantily fed, and obliged to sleep outside the toldo; very different from his life amongst the Patagonians, when food, shelter, and a horse to ride were always his lot. At my intercession Quintuhual took him into his service to protect him, for no Tehuelche would receive him; but he was afterwards reported to have been killed by his quondam master, as a punishment for his desertion.

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525 During our stay great gambling with cards was carried on amongst some of the party; and Casimiro and Hinchel worked most assiduously constructing saddles, which when finished they were in as great haste to gamble away. A

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586 wedding also varied the proceedings in this place; and another little incident, in the shape of a separation by mutual consent of an Araucanian husband and Tehuelche wife, gave the old ladies subject for gossip; but a reconciliation was soon after effected.